rounded by a number of hunters and when the jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harmful to the hunter.

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was employed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and even drinking water cannot be found except near the Paragnay River or some other river which comes from the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, the people move to places where water is plentiful and subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

she has spells of nausea and is particular about her food. In general the mother of a young woman informs her about her condition. The Terena have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and *kochuechâti*. The Terena distinguish between a married man who is a father and one who is not, a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were practiced. Whether this was an original Terena custom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not certain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood that the Terena took over this custom from the Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for infanticide is that it permitted a family to have male and female children alternately. If the first child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if a boy was born, he was put to death by being strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family had too many children, or if children were inconvenient, the expectant mother would go to a shaman who would make her drink a beverage prepared from certain roots. If this failed the mother might still have the child strangled. If a male child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys one would be killed. Twins were due, they believed, to the fact that the mother had eaten double fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, gave birth in her own home, attended by her mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena remember, no special knife was necessary to perform this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to give birth the mother squatted on her heels, supporting herself by holding on to some stationary object. The midwife would massage her abdomen and assist in the removal of the child. The midwife then washed the child and gave it to the mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hikiainné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [704]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

the following night the novice was expected to have a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmuneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public performance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), would then stand up and turning toward the graveyard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, he would perform certain miracles before his house to impress the villagers who were gathered around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

[P. 45 - A]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. *"Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí"* (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who are said to cure people by blessing them in the Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

[P. 45-B]

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

But
771 821 [796] much greater--still according to the same source--was the respect they showed for the "small constellation which they called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that [171] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a [289] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux, 1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

796 [114] [821] J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[292] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[289] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati
and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature,
and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128]
[273]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
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87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the